

March 2, 2005

ARTICLE ON ATROCITIES IN  
DARFUR, SUDAN

**HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 2, 2005*

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to your attention an excellent op-ed article written in today's New York Times by Nicolas D. Kristof titled "The American Witness." I ask that this article be inserted into the record. The op-ed article highlights the atrocities that are now occurring in Darfur, Sudan and the continuing level of indifference that the West has towards the people of Africa. In light of all of the rhetoric we hear from the United States regarding its strong commitment to liberate people from tyrant dictators, spread democracy around the world, and fight terrorism, I am left to wonder if these same principles do not apply to the people of Africa.

Without a doubt, genocide is occurring in Darfur, Sudan, and its government bears responsibility for the mass killings. Last summer, Congress declared the atrocities occurring in Darfur to be genocide, and the Bush Administration reached the same conclusion in September 2004. Nonetheless, the Bush Administration has done little, beyond acknowledging the crime, to engage the international community in stopping the slaughters of tens of thousands of innocent people. While there are no reliable estimates on the number of people killed as a result of the humanitarian crisis, observers estimate that 300,000 people have been killed since the beginning of the recent conflict in 2003. Meanwhile, an estimated 1.6 million people have been displaced from their homes and more than 213,000 people have been forced to seek refuge in neighboring Chad.

Last month, the United Nations released the Report of the International Commission on Inquiry on Darfur which stated that, "[g]overnment forces and militias conducted indiscriminate attacks, including killing of civilians, torture, enforced disappearances, destruction of villages, rape and other forms of sexual violence, pillaging and forced displacement throughout Darfur" and that such acts "were conducted on a widespread and systematic basis, and therefore may amount to crimes against humanity."

Now that the United Nations have substantiated what many of us have known for awhile, it is time that the West to take deliberative action to force the perpetrators of the genocide in Darfur to end the slaughter of innocent civilians. At the behest of the United States, the United Nations Security Council must pass a resolution condemning the crimes against humanity that are occurring in Darfur and impose sanctions against the Government of Sudan if they do not stop the killings. The Security Council should also act to freeze the assets of and deny entry visas to perpetrators of genocide, and extend the arms embargo to the Government of Sudan.

In addition to these actions, the Bush Administration should work with its NATO allies to provide the African Union forces with concrete assistance and peace keeping troops on the ground in Darfur. I encourage the Bush

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Administration to continue to provide critical logistical and equipment support to the African Union forces. Finally, I also encourage that Administration to reappoint a Special Envoy to Sudan as quickly as possible to ensure that the United States has a visible role in resolving this horrific crisis.

The plight of the people of Darfur should garner great sympathy from the Bush Administration. Now that we know Iraq had no Weapons of Mass Destruction and no connection to the 9-11 attacks, the President claims a mandate to engage in war to liberate oppressed people from tyrannical governments. Should not his so-called God-given mandate compel him to take the lead in getting our friends on the United Nation's Security Council to impose sanctions on the government of Sudan and, if necessary, institute other deliberative measures to stop the killing? After all, if the Bush Administration can send young men and women from poor communities and National Guard and reservists into Iraq to liberate its people from the tyrant forces of Saddam Hussein, then surely we can take steps to get the international community to stop the killing in Sudan and bring the perpetrators to justice.

If we can learn any lessons from history, we should commit ourselves to ensuring that we do not fail the people of Sudan in the manner in which we failed the people of Rwanda where an estimated one million people who were slaughtered in the early 1990's while the world community sat on the sidelines. Only now are Americans learning through the movie Hotel Rwanda how we as a Nation failed a people. The crisis that is occurring in Darfur presents the Bush Administration with an opportunity to resuscitate its reputation in the international community.

[From the New York Times, March 2, 2005.]

THE AMERICAN WITNESS

(By Nicholas D. Kristof)

American soldiers are trained to shoot at the enemy. They're prepared to be shot at. But what young men like Brian Steidle are not equipped for is witnessing a genocide but being unable to protect the civilians pleading for help.

If President Bush wants to figure out whether the U.S. should stand more firmly against the genocide in Darfur, I suggest that he invite Mr. Steidle to the White House to give a briefing. Mr. Steidle, a 28-year-old former Marine captain, was one of just three American military advisers for the African Union monitoring team in Darfur—and he is bursting with frustration.

"Every single day you go out to see another burned village, and more dead bodies," he said. "And the children—you see 6-month-old babies that have been shot, and 3-year-old kids with their faces smashed in with rifle butts. And you just have to stand there and write your reports."

While journalists and aid workers are sharply limited in their movements in Darfur, Mr. Steidle and the monitors traveled around by truck and helicopter to investigate massacres by the Sudanese government and the janjaweed militia it sponsors. They have sometimes been shot at, and once his group was held hostage, but they have persisted and become witnesses to systematic crimes against humanity.

So is it really genocide?

"I have no doubt about that," Mr. Steidle said. "It's a systematic cleansing of peoples

by the Arab chiefs there. And when you talk to them, that's what they tell you. They're very blunt about it. One day we met a janjaweed leader and he said, 'Unless you get back four camels that were stolen in 2003, then we're going to go to these four villages and burn the villages, rape the women, kill everyone.' And they did."

The African Union doesn't have the troops, firepower or mandate to actually stop the slaughter, just to monitor it. Mr. Steidle said his single most frustrating moment came in December when the Sudanese government and the janjaweed attacked the village of Labado, which had 25,000 inhabitants. Mr. Steidle and his unit flew to the area in helicopters, but a Sudanese general refused to let them enter the village—and also refused to stop the attack.

"It was extremely frustrating—seeing the village burn, hearing gunshots, not being able to do anything," Mr. Steidle said. "The entire village is now gone. It's a big black spot on the earth."

When Sudan's government is preparing to send bombers or helicopter gunships to attack an African village, it shuts down the cellphone system so no one can send out warnings. Thus the international monitors know when a massacre is about to unfold. But there's usually nothing they can do.

The West, led by the Bush administration, is providing food and medical care that is keeping hundreds of thousands of people alive. But we're managing the genocide, not halting it.

"The world is failing Darfur," said Jan Egeland, the U.N. under secretary general for humanitarian affairs. "We're only playing the humanitarian card, and we're just witnessing the massacres."

President Bush is pushing for sanctions, but European countries like France are disgracefully cool to the idea—and China is downright hostile, playing the same supportive role for the Darfur genocide that it did for the Khmer Rouge genocide.

Mr. Steidle has just quit his job with the African Union, but he plans to continue working in Darfur to do his part to stand up to the killers. Most of us don't have to go to that extreme of risking our lives in Darfur—we just need to get off the fence and push our government off, too.

At one level, I blame President Bush—and, even more, the leaders of European, Arab and African nations—for their passivity. But if our leaders are acquiescing in genocide, that's because we citizens are passive, too. If American voters cared about Darfur's genocide as much as about, say, the Michael Jackson trial, then our political system would respond. One useful step would be the passage of the Darfur Accountability Act, to be introduced today by Senators Jon Corzine and Sam Brownback. The legislation calls for such desperately needed actions as expanding the African Union force and establishing a military no-fly zone to stop Sudan from bombing civilians.

As Martin Luther King Jr. put it: "Man's inhumanity to man is not only perpetrated by the vitriolic actions of those who are bad. It is also perpetrated by the vitiating inaction of those who are good."

HAITI

**HON. STEPHANIE TUBBS JONES**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Wednesday, March 2, 2005*

Mrs. JONES of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my support for increased

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awareness and aid to the impoverished citizens of Haiti.

Haiti gained its independence in 1804 from France, becoming the first independent Black nation. Today, Haiti has over 8.3 million people, with 80% living in abject poverty. Haiti is one of the most impoverished nations in the Western Hemisphere. Less than 45 percent of all Haitians have access to potable water.

The life expectancy rate in Haiti is only 53 years. The unemployment rate is estimated to be around 60 percent; and the literacy rate is approximately 45 percent. Eighty out of 1,000 Haitian children never see their first birthday. Half the population of Haiti earns \$60 or less per year. The total expenditure on health per person is \$54 (compared to \$4,499 in the USA and \$483 in Mexico).

Health conditions in Haiti are very poor. Such examples include:

Haiti is one of the most impoverished nations in the Western Hemisphere and the fourth poorest country in the world.

Ninety percent of all HIV and AIDS infections in the Caribbean are in Haiti: over 300,000 infected people have been identified and deaths from HIV/AIDS have left 163,000 children orphaned.

Haiti's infant mortality rate is staggering: 74 deaths per 1,000 live births and the maternal mortality rate is approximately 1400 deaths for every 100,000.

Only 1 in every 10,000 Haitians has access to a physician, and less than 40 percent of Haitians have access to potable water.

Cases of TB in Haiti are more than ten times as high as those in other Latin American countries.

Tuberculosis remains a major cause of adult mortality; rates are thought to be the highest in the hemisphere. Cases of TB in Haiti are more than ten times as high as those in other Latin American countries.

The United States spends billions of dollars every year supporting various military and foreign operations across the globe and yet, basic human needs such as food, clothing, shelter, and education often have a lower priority in our expenditures. These basic human needs are a right of every citizen on our planet. We should want for our sister and brother, what we would want for ourselves, and put this belief into action.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to reiterate my support for increased awareness and aid to the impoverished citizens of Haiti. I stand with Representative BARBARA LEE and the Congressional Black Caucus to draw attention to the plight of the Haitian people.

#### ON THE COUP D'ETAT IN HAITI

### HON. MAXINE WATERS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 2005

Ms. WATERS. Mr. Speaker, 1 year ago this week, our government was a party to a coup d'etat in Haiti, the Western Hemisphere's poorest country. President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the democratically-elected President of Haiti, was forced to leave Haiti in a regime change supported by the United States. Presi-

dent Aristide left the country on February 29, 2004, on board a U.S. airplane when U.S. Marines and Embassy officials came to his home in the wee hours of the morning and told him to leave immediately or he and thousands of other Haitians would be killed.

One year later, the tragic results of regime change in Haiti are clear. Haiti is in total chaos. The interim government, which was put in power by the United States and has received unprecedented support from our government, is a complete failure. Violence is widespread, and security is non-existent. Schools are shut down; hospitals are not operating; and roads and infrastructure are in disrepair. Dead bodies are found lying in the streets.

Heavily-armed gangs roam Haiti freely. Many of these gangs consist of former soldiers from the brutal Haitian army, which was disbanded 10 years ago. Residents of poor neighborhoods and members of Lavalas, President Aristide's political party, are murdered without any legal consequences. Members of Haiti's wealthy elite, including American citizen Andy Apaid, are widely suspected of financing the former soldiers and paying gangs to kill Lavalas supporters. In some neighborhoods, Lavalas supporters have taken up arms and begun to fight back against this oppression. So the violence is escalating in Haiti, and no one is safe.

The interim government has been unable to enforce the rule of law, disarm the gangs, or restore the government's authority in the cities controlled by former soldiers. When Interim Prime Minister Gerard Latortue set a deadline of September 15 of last year for all groups holding illegal weapons to disarm, the deadline came and went, but nothing happened.

After the interim government failed to disarm the former soldiers, it resorted to bribing them. According to press reports in January, the interim government agreed to provide payments over a 3-month-period to all of the estimated 6,000 former members of the Haitian army. The payments will average about \$4,800 per person—in a country where most people live on less than a dollar a day. The cost of these payments was estimated to be \$29 million. The interim government never explained where the funds for these payments would be obtained, but Interim Prime Minister Latortue has already distributed checks to dozens of armed individuals who claim to be former soldiers and who still refuse to turn in their weapons. Is this the conduct of a government that wants to disarm the thugs, or a government that supports them?

Human rights violations are commonplace throughout Haiti. Amnesty International has expressed serious concerns about arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment in detention centers, and summary executions attributed to members of the Haitian National Police. Several members of President Aristide's government and prominent supporters of Lavalas have been detained illegally, including former Prime Minister Yvon Neptune, former Interior Minister Jocelerme Privert, and Haitian singer Anne Auguste. As of February 18, there were over 700 political prisoners in Haiti's jails. Most of these prisoners have been held illegally for months without formal charges.

The incompetence of the interim government has manifested itself in other ways as

well. Haiti's government was the only government in the path of Hurricane Jeanne that did not warn or evacuate its citizens when the storm came racing through the Caribbean last September. Jeanne pummeled the United States, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Barbados as a full-blown hurricane, and killed 34 people in all of those countries combined. She was only a tropical storm when she hit Haiti, but she killed over 3,000 Haitians and left thousands more hungry and homeless, because the interim government was unprepared to protect the Haitian people.

The Provisional Electoral Council, which is responsible for organizing elections, has been discredited by corruption. Roselort Julien, the former president of the Council, resigned last November, warning that other panel members were trying to rig the ballot and the council was not capable of ensuring the elections would be free and fair. The council also does not include any representatives of Lavalas, which continues to enjoy widespread support among the Haitian people despite the imprisonment of its leaders. It is abundantly clear that the council is incapable of organizing free and fair elections. If the current council does manage to organize elections, only the winners will accept the result.

The people of Haiti have suffered tremendously over the past year. They deserve better. They deserve to live in peace and security. They deserve to be warned when hurricanes are headed for their homes. They deserve to know that they can walk to work or buy groceries without having gangs kill them for the food they carry. And they deserve free, fair and democratic elections in which all political parties can participate.

When President Aristide was forced to leave Haiti a year ago, he was told that if he refused to leave, thousands of Haitians would die. Yet, in the 12 months that followed his departure, thousands of Haitians have died, and as long as the interim government continues to fail, there will be no end to the suffering and violence facing the Haitian people.

It is time for the United States Government to accept the fact that regime change has failed in Haiti. The United States must ensure that Haiti disarms the thugs, immediately frees political prisoners, and organizes free and fair elections in order to restore security and democracy to the Haitian people. The United States must also provide the necessary assistance to enable Haiti to reopen schools and hospitals and rebuild Haiti's infrastructure. It is time for the United States to clean up its mess.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY IS IMPORTANT FOR WOMEN

### HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 02, 2005

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, today's debate is an extremely important conversation on the future of Social Security. The simple facts of the matter are that Social Security is not in a state of crisis, it will not go bankrupt and it will always be there for those who contribute to it.